

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 DOEE-00 /026 W
-----007286 071940Z /43
O 071914Z MAR 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6900
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 03581

EXDIS USCTB

PASS TO DOE

E.O.11652:XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF PLENARY, MARCH 7

CTB MESSAGE NO.163

1. SUMMARY: WARNKE DELIVERED STATEMENT (SEPTTEL) SUMMARIZ-
ING US VIEW OF WHERE NEGOTIATIONS STOOD, EXPRESSING
DISAPPOINTMENT AT LACK OF SOVIET MOVEMENT ON ISSUES OF
DURATION AND PNE PROTOCOL LINKAGE, RECALLING FUNDAMENTAL
MOVE OF US ON OSIS, AND CALLING ON SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE
A SOLUTION ON DURATION AND PNES ALONG THE LINES WE HAD
PROPOSED. CRADOCK (UK) FOLLOWED WITH STATEMENT ENDORSING
WARNKE'S REMARKS AND ALSO EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT
MORE HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN HIS ABSENCE. MOROKHOV
(USSR) RESPONDED BRIEFLY, ALLEGING THAT THIS WAS FIRST
TIME SOVIET DELEGATION HAD HEARD REACTION TO THEIR
PROPOSAL THAT PRINCIPLE OF "UNITY OF ACTION" GOVERN
DURATION OF TREATY, ACCUSING US OF NOT BEING WILLING TO
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DEAL SERIOUSLY WITH PNE ISSUE, AND ATTEMPTING TO SHIFT
BLAME FOR RELATIVELY SLOWER PACE OF RECENT WEEKS TO
WESTERN DELEGATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. WARNKE OPENED PLENARY MARCH 7 WITH REVIEW OF WHERE
NEGOTIATIONS STOOD WITH EMPHASIS ON DURATION AND PNE
PROTOCOL LINKAGE ISSUES. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH SERIOUS

WORK WAS BEING DONE ON TECHNICAL VERIFICATION ISSUES, WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT A GREATER MEASURE OF AGREEMENT COULD HAVE BEEN REACHED. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WERE DIFFERENCES WITH REGARD TO VERIFICATION, THE DELEGATIONS WERE FACING THE ISSUES, NOT HIDING FROM THEM. WARNKE CONTRASTED THIS TO SITUATION WITH REGARD TO DURATION AND PNES WHERE NO PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE. HE PLACED BLAME FOR THIS ON SOVIET DELEGATION'S UNWILLINGNESS TO COME TO GRIPS WITH BASIC AND UNAVOIDABLE PREREQUISITES FOR A VIABLE TREATY.

3. TURNING TO DURATION, WARNKE DESCRIBED THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A STABLE AND DURABLE TREATY AND SAID ONLY US AND UK HAD PROPOSALS ON TABLE WHICH MET THOSE REQUIREMENTS. HE DESCRIBED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY THAT WOULD AUTOMATICALLY TERMINATE IN A FEW YEARS AS UNWORTHY OF OUR EFFORTS. TAKING UP SOVIET CONCERN WITH PRINCIPLE OF "UNITY", WARNKE SAID IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO THINK THAT A PROCEDURAL MECHANISM, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THE APPEARANCE OF COLLECTIVE DECISIONS, COULD DILUTE THE POLITICAL BURDEN A PARTY WISHING TO TERMINATE THE TREATY WOULD HAVE TO BEAR. HE CALLED ON SOVIETS TO RECOGNIZE THAT INTERESTS OF ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE SERVED BY ADOPTING US AND UK PROPOSAL. HE ADDED THAT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HEARING ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THE SOVIET DELEGATION MIGHT WISH TO MAKE THAT WOULD PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVE OF A DURABLE AND STABLE TREATY, BUT THAT IT WAS SECRET

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NOT ENOUGH FOR THEM MERELY TO SAY THEY WERE WILLING TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES.

4. TURNING TO PNES, WARNKE SAID THAT THE QUESTION MUST BE DEFERRED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO EITHER SIDE. ANY SOLUTION MUST BE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND, AS LONG AS A WEAPONS TEST BAN REMAINED IN FORCE, PNES MUST BE CONSTRAINED. HE ATTACKED THE SOVIET DRAFT PROTOCOL FOR IGNORING EXISTING AND FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN VIEWS, FOR PREJUDICING THE OUTCOME OF FUTURE WORK, AND FOR ITS ARBITRARY TIME LIMIT. A SITUATION IN WHICH A WEAPONS TEST BAN WOULD CONTINUE WITHOUT AGREED CONSTRAINTS ON PNES WOULD BE INEQUITABLE, UNWORKABLE AND, THEREFORE, UNACCEPTABLE. NO GREAT POWER COULD AGREE TO NEGOTIATE UNDER AN ARBITRARY DEADLINE WARNKE SAID. RECALLING THE MAJOR AND DECISIVE STEP THE US HAD TAKEN ON OSI AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROUND, WARNKE CALLED FOR THE SOVIETS TO SHOW CORRESPONDING REALISM AND FLEXIBILITY WITH REGARD TO DURATION AND PNES AND TO NEGOTIATE A SOLUTION ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED BY US.

5. CRADOCK (WHO HAS RETURNED TO DELEGATION AFTER A FIVE WEEK ABSENCE) FOLLOWED WITH BRIEF STATEMENT EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT MORE HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN HIS

ABSENCE, ENDORSING WARNKE'S STATEMENT, AND CALLING FOR SOVIET MOVEMENT ON DURATION AND PNES.

6. MOROKHOV OFFERED PRELIMINARY REACTION TO WARNKE STATEMENT, WHICH HE SAID WAS IMPORTANT AND WOULD RECEIVE SERIOUS STUDY. HE SAID THIS WAS FIRST TIME SOVIET DELEGATION HAD RECEIVED US AND UK REACTION TO ITS PROPOSAL THAT ENTRY-INTO-FORCE AND TERMINATION OF THE TREATY BE GOVERNED BY PRINCIPLE OF UNITY OF ACTION. HE SAID THIS REACTION HAD BEEN NEGATIVE AND NOW "BALL WAS HANGING IN

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

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-----007367 071952Z /42

O 071914Z MAR 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6901

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AIR". HE QUICKLY TURNED TO PNES SAYING THAT IF US CHANGE ON OSI HAD BEEN "FUNDAMENTAL", SOVIET PNE MORATORIUM PROPOSAL HAD BEEN "REVOLUTIONARY". MOROKHOV SAID IT WAS CLEAR US CONTINUED TO ADVOCATE UNLIMITED PROHIBITION ON PNES AND HAD NO DESIRE TO ADDRESS ISSUE OBJECTIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY. THE SOVIETS HAD PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS FOR EXCLUDING MILITARY BENEFITS BUT US REJECTED THEM A PRIORI.

7. TURNING TO VERIFICATION, MOROKHOV SAID HE HAD GIVEN SOVIET VIEWS ON ISIS IN MARCH 3 PLENARY AND THAT IN STUDYING NEW US PROPOSAL THEY HAD FOUND NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. DETAILS OF US POSITION MADE IT AS UNACCEPTABLE AS THE OLD PROPOSAL. HE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT US HAD NOT, AT THIS MEETING, GIVEN REACTION TO SOVIET PROPOSALS OF MARCH 3 FOR INTERNAL SEISMIC NETWORK AND SAID SOVIET DELEGATION COULD NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THAT ISSUE BEING UNRESOLVED. IN A MORE MODERATE VIEW, MOROKHOV SAID MANY OF THE DETAILS OF US PROPOSALS WITH

REGARD TO VERIFICATION WERE NOT YET CLEAR AND SOVIETS MUST HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING IN ORDER TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THIS COMPLEX PROBLEM. RETURNING TO PNES AND DURATION, MOROKHOV SAID THAT IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED "TO
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LIMIT PNES THROUGH A MORATORIUM," THEN DURATION BECAME A POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH HE WAS CONFIDENT COULD BE EASILY RESOLVED.

8. WARNKE RESPONDED TO MOROKHOV'S REMARKS ABOUT UNITY OF ACTION SAYING ONLY ILLUSTRATION WE HAD OF THIS PRINCIPLE WAS SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A THREE-YEAR TREATY WHICH COULD CONTINUE ONLY IF AN IMPOSSIBLE CONDITION WERE MET. IF THE SOVIET DELEGATION COULD EMBODY THEIR PRINCIPLE IN A MORE PALATABLE PROPOSAL WE WOULD OF COURSE BE PREPARED TO STUDY IT. TURNING TO MOROKHOV'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SOVIET NOVEMBER 2 PNE MORATORIUM PROPOSAL, WARNKE SAID THERE WERE SOME REVOLUTIONS THAT "LEFT THE SAME OLD FACES IN THE SAME OLD PLACES", AND HE WASN'T SURE IF WE WERE MUCH FURTHER ALONG THAN WE WERE ON NOVEMBER 1.

9. DURING LENGTHY AND REPETITIOUS DISCUSSION IN HEADS OF DELEGATION MEETING FOLLOWING THE PLENARY, MOROKHOV STRESSED THAT VERIFICATION WAS MOST SENSITIVE CTB ISSUE FOR THE SOVIETS, SINCE IT WAS BOUND UP WITH SOVIET SECURITY. WHEN THIS WAS SOLVED, MOROKHOV HAD NO DOUBT THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION ON DURATION AND PNES. HE REPEATED THIS SEVERAL TIMES SAYING ON ONE OCCASION THAT HE WAS "100 PERCENT CERTAIN" THAT IT WOULD BE EASY TO FIND AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. ON ANOTHER OCCASION, HE SAID "ALL OTHER ISSUES WOULD DISAPPEAR". ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DURATIDN AND PNE ISSUES, HIS ONLY COMMENT WAS: "WE HAVE SAID THAT WE OURSELVES WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED IF PNES WERE RESUMED, AND OTHER TESTING WAS NOT, WITHOUT APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT; WE ARE PREPARED TO SEARCH TOGETHER WITH YOU FOR A FORMULA FOR SOLVING THIS." BUT HE INSISTED THAT "OTHER FORMULAS WILL COME OUT LATER." AT THIS TIME, HE NEEDED TO KNOW WITH GREATER
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CLARITY WHAT WOULD BE THE VERIFICATION SOLUTION. "WHAT WILL VERIFICATION COST; NOW, UNDER THE US PROPOSALS, THE COSTS SEEM ENORMOUS." IF WE COULD AGREE EVEN ON A "GENERAL PLATFORM ON VERIFICATION", HE COULD TELL US SOMETHING ON DURATION AND PNES BEFORE THE END OF THIS ROUND.

MOROKHOV REPEATED THAT OUR VERIFICATION PROPOSALS WERE FAR TOO COMPLICATED, USING EQUIPMENT THAT DID NOT EVEN EXIST. MANY OF THESE TECHNICAL DETAILS SHOULD BE LEFT FOR THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. BOTH CRADOCK AND WARNKE MADE STRONG STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES WERE INTER-LINKED AND WE SHOULD BE MAKING PROGRESS ON ALL FRONTS. MOROKHOV CONCLUDED THAT THE INFORMAL EXCHANGE HAD BEEN "VERY USEFUL AND VERY INTERESTING."

10. COMMENT: WE THINK IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT FOLLOWING WARNKE'S VERY STRONG PLENARY STATEMENT CALLING FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO MOVE TOWARD US POSITIONS ON DURATION AND PNE LINKAGE, WHICH WERE FULLY AND EXPLICITLY SET FORTH, MOROKHOV SHOWED NO SIGNS OF IRRITATION OR PESSIMISM THROUGHOUT THE HEADS OF DELEGATION MEETING, BUT INSTEAD EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THESE ISSUES WOULD NOT PROVE DIFFICULT. ALSO OF PARTICULAR INTEREST, HE DID NOT RE-STATE IN ANY WAY SOVIET POSITION ON PNES, I.E., NEED FOR A FIRM DEADLINE FOR PNE ACCOMMODATION, IMPORTANCE OF PNES TO THE SOVIET ECONOMY, ETC. WE HAD ASSUMED WARNKE'S STATEMENT WOULD AT LEAST PRECIPITATE A REITERATION OF ALL OF THESE FAMILIAR THEMES.

11. NEXT PLENARY SCHEDULED FOR 2:30 PM MARCH 10 AT SOVIET MISSION. MOROKHOV HAS PROMISED STATEMENT ON OSI. WARNKE

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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 mar 1978
DecapTION Date: 20 Mar 2014
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA03581
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780103-0179
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780399/aaaadfff.tel
Line Count: 249
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3420946
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF PLENARY, MARCH 7 CTB MESSAGE NO.163
TAGS: PARM, US, UK, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/bbd432cc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014